

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NATO, SP, US

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO CORTINA ON NATO/NON-NATO APPROACH

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM MCCLOSKEY

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR SUGGESTION TO ME IN MADRID, WE HAVE PREPARED FOLLOWING FOR YOU TO USE IN ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE SPANISH AWAY FROM THEIR POSITION ON NATO/NON-NATO USES OF SPANISH FACILITIES, AS MOST RECENTLY EXPOUNDED BY CORTINA. UNLESS YOU PERCEIVE OBJECTION, WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF TEXT COULD BE DELIVERED TO CORTINA SOONEST, WITH ANY CHANGES YOU JUDGE NECESSARY FOR BEST SPANISH RENDITION. IF YOU THINK IT USEFUL TO CONVEY SAME TEXT TO OTHER HIGH GOS OFFICIALS PLEASE LET ME KNOW.

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2. BEGIN TEXT: IT HAS BECOME APPARENT TO THE U.S. SIDE

THAT PROGRESS IN THE BILATERAL DEFENSE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BE FACILITATED IF CERTAIN CONCEPTUAL POINTS REGARDING THE OVERALL U.S. APPROACH TO WESTERN SECURITY WERE CLARIFIED.

3. THE STARTING POINT AND PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF U.S. SECURITY POLICY IS TO SAFEGUARD THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THIS OBJECTIVE COULD BE SECURED ONLY IN COOPERATION WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING SPAIN. WE BELIEVE ALL OUR WEST EUROPEAN PARTNERS HAVE AN EQUAL SELF-INTEREST IN DEFENSE COOPERATION.

4. IN BROAD TERMS, OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS SEEK TO MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA AGAINST POSSIBLE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION OR COERCION, AND IN THIS MANNER TO FURTHER THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY OF THAT AREA. SPAIN HAS BEEN ONE OF THE BENEFICIARIES OF THESE POLICIES.

5. THESE OBJECTIVES CALL FOR A CREDIBLE WESTERN MILITARY CAPABILITY TO COUNTER THREATENED OR ACTUAL ATTACK AGAINST OURSELVES OR OUR FRIENDS. CONSEQUENTLY THE U.S. HAS ACCEPTED AND FULFILLED A MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY IN EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN DEFENSE. THIS RESPONSIBILITY REQUIRES THAT CERTAIN OPERATIONAL MILITARY CONDITIONS BE MET:

-- FORCES MUST BE DEPLOYED IN POSITION AND AVAILABLE FOR USE.

-- ASSURED ACCESS INTO AND THROUGH THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA MUST BE MAINTAINED.

-- APPROPRIATE BASES AND FACILITIES TO SUPPORT ACTUAL FORCES AND PLANNED REINFORCEMENTS MUST BE AVAILABLE.

6. THE DEFENSE POSTURE WHICH HAS EMERGED THROUGH THE COOPERATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING SPAIN, AND NORTH AMERICA IS BASED ON A STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, IN WHICH CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE FORCES

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PLAY A PROMINENT BUT BALANCED ROLE WITH TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES. IN OUR VIEW, THIS STRATEGY HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN PRESERVING PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE AREA AND HAS PRODUCED THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH A CERTAIN RELAXATION IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS - THE PROCESS OF "DETENTE" - CAN BE CONSIDERED AND IMPLEMENTED.

7. IN THIS SITUATION ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES, REGARDLESS OF THEIR AFFILIATION WITH NATO, CONTINUE TO HAVE SHARED VITAL INTERESTS IN PRESERVING THE EXISTING BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE AREA AND AVOIDING CHANGES WHICH COULD CHANGE THE PERCEPTIONS AND INTENTIONS OF POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES.

8. IT HAS BEEN OUR UNDERSTANDING, RE-AFFIRMED IN THE JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF JULY 1974, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN SHARES THIS VIEW THAT WESTERN SECURITY RESTS ON REGIONAL COOPERATION AND THAT SUCH COOPERATION SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. WE HAVE ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT SPAIN WISHES TO PARTICIPATE EVEN MORE CLOSELY IN THIS PROCESS, INCLUDING ASSOCIATION WITH NATO.

9. WE THEREFORE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE SPANISH POSITION REGARDING U.S. USE OF SPANISH FACILITIES, WHICH APPEARS TO SEEK THE REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF USES FOR NATO PURPOSES. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT ALL OUR FORCES IN EUROPE ARE RELATED TO OUR COMMITMENT TO WESTERN DEFENSE AND THAT WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF ANY MAJOR CONFLICT IN EUROPE WHICH WOULD NOT INVOLVE NATO. A DISTINCTION BETWEEN U.S. FORCES BASED ON THEIR RELATION TO NATO -- WHETHER IN TERMS OF PEACETIME OR WARTIME COMMAND OR SOME OTHER BASIS -- WOULD THEREFORE NOT BE REALISTIC OR FEASIBLE. THE REDUCTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN OUTLINED BY THE SPANISH SIDE WOULD HAVE SERIOUS NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES ON WESTERN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES, INCLUDING THOSE OF SPAIN.

10. IN ADDITION CHANGES IN THE SPANISH POSITION RAISE QUESTIONS IN OUR MINDS AS TO THE BASIC THRUST OF THE SPANISH APPROACH. FOR EXAMPLE, IN APRIL SPAIN CONSIDERED CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGES AT ROTA TO BE NECESSARY. YET IN THE LAST ROUND IN MADRID THE SPANISH DELEGATION ARGUED FOR DRASTIC CHANGES AT OTHER FACILITIES WHILE SAYING THE OPERATIONS AT ROTA MAY REMAIN AS THEY ARE. WE WONDER IF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF SPANISH OBJECTIVES IS SUFFICIENTLY COMPLETE TO ENABLE US JOINTLY TO FIND ENOUGH COMMON GROUND ON WHICH TO BASE AN AGREEMENT.

11. IN BROADER TERMS WE ARE TROUBLED ALSO BY WHAT WE SEE AS A TENDENCY TO OVERLOOK THE CONSEQUENCES OF PROPOSED REDUCTIONS ON OVERALL WESTERN DEFENSE NEEDS, INCLUDING THE NEEDS OF SPAIN, WHEN BOTH SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE REAFFIRMED THEIR DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN WESTERN DEFENSE. REDUCTIONS OR OTHER CHANGES SHOULD NOT BE SOUGHT AS ENDS IN THEMSELVES, FOR THEY CANNOT

SUBSTITUTE FOR SHARED AFFIRMATIVE PURPOSES AS THE BASIS
FOR A SATISFACTORY NEW RELATIONSHIP.

12. FINALLY, AND QUITE APART FROM THE OVERALL IMPACT
OF THE SPANISH POSITION, WE ARE SURPRISED BY THE TIMING
OF THE SPANISH PROPOSAL, SINCE IT APPEARS TO US THAT
EVENTS ARE MOVING IN DIRECTIONS FAVORING GREATER
PARTICIPATION BY SPAIN IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. SURELY
IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THIS PROMISING FUTURE WERE
TO BE JEOPARDIZED BY ACTIONS NOW WHICH COULD ONLY
SERVE TO WEAKEN NOT ONLY U.S. -SPANISH COOPERATION,
BUT ALSO SPAIN'S ROLE IN EUROPE.

13. WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT THESE DIFFICULTIES CAN BE
AVOIDED AND THAT OUR BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL PRODUCE
MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS SERVING THE FUNDAMENTAL
SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES. END TEXT. INGERSOLL

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